

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4139

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MADRID 3687

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ ADDRESSES PARLIAMENT

1. SUMMARY: IN A MAJOR LOCAL POLITICAL EVENT PRIME  
MINISTER SUAREZ ONUSEIES WHICH, THOUGH SHORT ON  
SUBSTANCE (ONE COMMENTATOR CALLED IT A DISCOURSE ON  
METHOD) CONVEYED A CENTRAL MESSAGE LOUD AND CLEAR - PARTISAN  
POLITICS AND JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING  
ELSE CAN ONLY COME AFTERWARD. HE ALSO STOUTLY DEFENDED  
HIS GOVT'S RECORD, PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. WITH  
THE MONCLOA PACTS AND TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH PUBLIC  
ORDER PROBLEMS, ALTHOUGH HE SAW NO END IN SIGHT TO  
TERRORISM. THE SPEECH WAS A RELATIVELY GOOD ONE IN  
TERMS OF STYLE AND SUBSTANCE. PYVRDS# BELIEVED NECESSARY  
PARTICULARLY SINCE SUAREZ MAKES PUBLIC ADDRESSES SO  
INFREQUENTLY. POLITICAL PARTY AND MEDIA RESPONSE  
PREDICTABLY HAS BEEN MIXED. THE DEBATE CONTINUES IN  
PARLIAMENT TODAY, WITH THE PSOE, PCE, AP AND CATALAN  
MINORITY DUE TO SPEAK. THE DEBATE MAY BE FOLLOWED BY  
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THE PRESENTATION OF COMPETING RESOLUTIONS EXPRESSING  
CONFIDENCE IN AND CRITICISM OF THE GOVT. END SUMMARY

2. IN RESPONSE TO A MARCH 1 CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES  
RESOLUTION CALLING ON THE PRIME MINISTER TO EXPLAIN  
THE FEBRUARY 24 CABINET SHUFFLE AND HIS PROGRAM OF  
GOVERNANCE (MADRID 2436), SUAREZ ADDRESSED A PACKED

LOWER HOUSE APRIL 5. THE HIGH POINTS OF HIS SPEECH, WHICH RAN OVER 70 MINUTES, ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW:

3. PRIMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION. THE CENTRAL THEME OF SUAREZ' PRESENTATION WAS THAT "POLITICS OF STATE" WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE TO TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER "POLITICS OF PARTY" UNTIL THE CONSTITUTION WAS APPROVED. STRESS THAT "NORMAL ADVERSARY POLITICS" COULD NOT BEGIN UNTIL THE APPROVED CONSTITUTION HAD BOTH COMPLETED THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROCESS AND ESTABLISHED THE FOUNDATION AND FRAMEWORK FOR PARTISAN POLITICS, SUAREZ UNDERLINED THE CONTINUING NEED FOR "CONSENSUS" AND "CONVERGENCE." HE WAS DETERMINED, HE SAID, TO ENSURE THAT THE CONSENSUS ON WHICH THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE BASED WOULD NOT BE THREATENED BY ATTEMPTS TO SECURE PARTISAN POLITICAL ADVANTAGE; THESE CONSIDERATIONS WOULD DICTATE HIS AND UCD'S BEHAVIOR, AND HE CALLED ON THE OPPOSITION, BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT, TO FOLLOW SUIT. ONCE THE CONSTITUTION WAS APPROVED, SPAIN WOULD MOVE FROM THE "SINGULAR" POLITICS WHICH HAD TO CHARACTERIZE THE "LEGAL" TRANSFORMATION OF THE OLD REGIME TO THE POLITICS OF COMPETITION WHICH ARE A HALLMARK OF WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. IN THIS REGARD, HE REITERATED THE GOVT'S COMMITMENT TO CONVOKE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER APPROVAL OF THE CONSTITUTION IN REFERENDUM.

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4. THE FEB. 24 CABINET SHUFFLE. SUAREZ STATED THAT THE GOVT CHANGES CAME ABOUT SIMPLY BECAUSE THEN-ECONOMIC SUPERMINISTER FUENTES QUINTANA HAD INSISTED ON RESIGNING HE HAD FULFILLED HIS FUNCTION OF DESIGNING AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM, SUAREZ CONTINUED, AND THE MINISTERIAL ADJUSTMENTS THAT WERE CARRIED OUT REPRESENTED AN ATTEMPT TO ENABLE THE GOVT TO IMPLEMENT THAT PROGRAM MORE EFFECTIVE THERE HAD BEEN "NO GOVT CRISIS," NOR HAD THERE BEEN ANY CHANGE IN PROGRAM, SUAREZ INSISTED, AS WAS DEMONSTRATED BY THE FACT THAT FUENTES QUINTANA REMAINED AS AN ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER. THE GOVT FULLY INTENDED TO CARRY OUT THE PROGRAM ELABORATED BY FUENTES, SUAREZ CONTINUED, AS ITS ACTIONS SINCE THE CABINET SHUFFLE HAD CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED. THE GOVT ALSO WOULD CONTINUE TO FULFILL ALL COMMITMENTS ESTABLISHED BY THE MONCLOA PACTS, SOMETHING WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER HOPED AND EXPECTED THE OPPOSITION TO DO AS WELL.

5. OTHER PRIORITIES. IN ADDITION TO THE CONSTITUTION SUAREZ STATED, THE GOVT CONTINUED TO CONSIDER SPAIN'S

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AMEMBASSY OSLO  
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PRIORITIES TO BE SOCIAL/ECONOMIC POLICY, FOREIGN POLICY  
(BOTH OF WHICH WILL BE COVERED SEPTTEL), AND CITIZENS'  
SECURITY. ON THE LATTER SCORE SUAREZ ACKNOWLEDGED THAT  
BOTH THE INCREASING INCIDENCE OF COMMON CRIME, LARGELY  
ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND  
PERSISTENT POLITICAL TERRORISM WERE WORRISOME. HE  
EMPHASIZED THE GOVT'S DEDICATION TO ADDRESSING THE  
CAUSES OF COMMON CRIME AS WELL AS THE MODERNIZATION OF  
THE LEGAL CODE AND ITS COMMITMENT TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY  
WITH TERRORISM. HE ALSO CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT NO  
SOLUTION TO TERRORISM WAS IN SIGHT.

6. RETURNING TO HIS CENTRAL THEME OF THE NECESSITY  
TO FINALIZE THE CONSTITUTION, SUAREZ ALSO POINTED OUT  
THAT ATTEMPTS TO BRING THE COUNTRY'S LAWS INTO LINE  
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WITH ITS NEW POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REALITY, NOT TO MENTION THE AGREEMENTS REACHED UNDER THE MONCLOA PACTS, WERE BY THEIR VERY NATURE "PRECARIOUS AND PROVISIONAL" UNTIL THE CONSTITUTION WAS APPROVED. IN THIS CONNECTION HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO THE AUTONOMY QUESTION, WHERE HE DEFENDED THE GOVT'S "PRE-AUTONOMY" INITIATIVES AS "PREPARING THE REGIONS TO ASSUME THE FULL RESPONSIBILITIES OF AUTONOMY," ALTHOUGH THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES WOULD ONLY BE CATALOGUED DEFINITELY BY THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF. (COMMENT: THIS CLEARLY WAS INTENDED AS A REASSURANCE TO THE REGIONS THAT THE GOVT CONTINUED TO BE COMMITTED TO DEVOLUTION, AND AS A RESPONSE TO CRITICISMS THAT THE "PRE-AUTONOMIES" WERE DEVOID OF CONTENT AND MEANING.)

7. PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE. ALTHOUGH AGAIN STEERING CLEAR OF DETAILS, SUAREZ MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF HIS "PROGRAM OF THE FUTURE": TO RETURN POLITICAL PROTAGONISM TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE AND CONSOLIDATE A DEMOCRATIC STATE OF LAW IN THE BRIEFEST POSSIBLE TIME; TO ESTABLISH THE FOUNDATION FOR A "FULL SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY," AND FOR "SPAIN TO INSERT ITSELF...IN A MODEL OF LIFE, AND OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN WORLD." TOWARD THIS END, SUAREZ CALLED ON "ALL SOCIAL FORCES, EMERGENCY ORGANIZATIONS, LABOR UNIONS AND OTHER ENTITIES TO COME TOGETHER IN REACHING, IN THE BRIEFEST POSSIBLE TIME, INSTITUTIONAL MATURITY IN FULL DEMOCRACY."

8. THE PRESENTATIONS OF SUAREZ AND VICE-PRESIDENT ABRIL ON THE ECONOMY WERE THEN FOLLOWED BY RESPONSES FROM SPOKESMEN FOR THE BASQUE MINORITY AND MIXED GROUP BEFORE THE SESSION WAS ADJOURNED SHORTLY AFTER MIDNIGHT TO BE COMPLETED TODAY.

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--JAVIER ARZALLUZ (PNV) TYPICALLY DEVOTED MOST OF HIS SPEECH TO THE SUBJECT OF AUTONOMY, LAMENTING THE GOVT'S FAILURE TO HOLD MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND THE BASQUE GENERAL COUNCIL'S LACK OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES. HE CHARACTERIZED THE GOVT'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MONCLOA PACTS AS SATISFACTORY.

--ENRIQUE TIerno GALVAN (PSP-MIXED GROUP) CRITICIZED THE GOVT FOR "NOT HAVING THE PROGRAM WE WOULD HAVE WANTED," AND IMPLIED THAT SUAREZ WAS NOT LIVING UP FULLY TO THE MONCLOA PACTS. HE ALSO CHARGED THAT THE PUBLIC ORDER SITUATION WAS EVEN WORSE THAN SUAREZ HAD INDICATED, AND PORTRAYED THE GOVT AS "SUFFERING A CRISIS OF AUTHORITY."

--HEADING UP THE LIST OF LIKELY SPEAKERS IN TODAY'S CONTINUATION ARE FELIPE GONZALEZ (PSOE), SANTIAGO CARRILLO (PCE), AND MANUEL FRAGA (AP).

9. REACTION TO SUAREZ' SPEECH HAS DIVIDED PREDICTABLY ALONG PARTY LINES, WITH UCD LEADERS ROUNDLY PRAISING THE RESENTATION AND JUST ABOUT EVERYONE ELSE, PARTICULARLY THE PSOE AND AP, CRITICIZING IT.

--FELIPE GONZALEZ REFUSED TO COMMENT, CLEARLY SAVING HIS BARBS FOR TODAY'S SPEECH, BUT OTHER PSOE LEADERS STATED ACIDLY THAT THEY WERE NOW ACCUSTOMED TO SPEECHES BY SUAREZ IN WHICH HE TALKED OF GOOD INTENTIONS WITHOUT REALLY SAYING ANYTHING.

--FOR FRAGA, "THERE HAS BEEN NO SPEECH...WE EXPECTED AN ACTION PROGRAM AND HAVE SIMPLY BE TOLD THAT THE GOVT STILL CANNOT GOVERN."

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BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

--THE COMMUNISTS, FOR THEIR PART, WERE MUCH MORE CIRCUMSPECT. ALTHOUGH CARRILLO REFUSED TO COMMENT, PARTY NOTABLES SANCHEZ MONTERO AND LOPEZ RAIMUNDO, WHILE

POINTING OUT THAT THE SPEECH OFFERED NOTHING NEW, EXPRESSED THEIR SATISFACTION THAT SUAREZ HAD PLACED SO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR CONSENSUS.

10. THE MEDIA TOO HAS TAKEN RATHER PREDICTABLE POSITIONS ON THE SPEECH, WITH LEFT-LEANING "EL PAIS" STRONGLY CRITICIZING IT AND "ABC", "YA", AND "ARRIBA" PRAISING IT TO VARIOUS DEGREES.

--FOR "EL IS," SUAREZ' ESTIMATION WAS SO DISAP-  
INTING AND DEVOID OF SUBSTANCE THAT IT DID NOT MERIT  
SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT.  
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--"ABC" IN CONTRAST COMPLIMENTED THE IME MINISTER FOR HIS SINCERITY, BELIEVING SUAREZ "HAD TRACED A CLEAR PATH OF CONTINUITY IN HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, DEMONSTRATING HIS CONVICTION THAT NATIONAL INTEREST SO DICTATED."

--IN "YA'S" VIEW, ALTHOUGH THE SPEECH LACKED SUAREZ' SPARK, HE HAD CALLED SINCERELY FOR NATIONAL CONSENSUS AND RESPONSIBILITY.

--FOR "ARRIBA," SUAREZ HAD NOT PLACED SUFFICIENT EMPHASIS ON PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS, THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DISTRESS, OR THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION, BUT IT HAD BEEN A HOPEFUL SPEECH IN WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER HAD CAREFULLY LIMITED HIMSELF TO GENERALITIES BECAUSE OF THE IMPEDING CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE.

11. COMMENT: IN THE WEEKS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MARCH 1 RESOLUTION WAS PASSED, THERE WAS WIDESPREAD SPECULATION THAT THE APRIL 5 PLENARY WOULD BE THE SCENE OF A REAL SHOWDOWN, WITH ONE OR MORE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS PERHAPS EVEN MOVING A VOTE OF CENSURE OF THE GOVT. BUT AS THE PLENARY APPROACHED, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE GOVT FIRST REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THE CATALAN MINORITY THAT, IN EXCHANGE FOR RETAINING THE TERM "NATIONALITIES" IN THE CONSTITUTION, THE CATALANS WOULD SUPPORT THE GOVT CONSISTENTLY IN PARLIAMENTARY VOTES. THE COMMUNISTS THEN MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF JOINING ANY INITIATIVE THAT MIGHT "UNDERMINE" THE GOVT., AND IT EVEN BECAME QUESTIONABLE THAT FRAGA'S AP, WHICH IS ATTEMPTING TO IMPRESS ON SUAREZ UCD'S NEED FOR AP SUPPORT WOULD PUSH TOO HARD. FINALLY, THE PSOE, PERHAPS BECAUSE  
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IT REALIZED IT WAS POTENTIALLY ISOLATED ON THE QUESTION,  
STATED LAST WEEKED THAT IT DID NOT INTEND TO SEEK A  
CENSURE VOTE.

12. NEVERTHELESS, WE EXPECT, AT A MINIMUM, TOUGH RHETORICAL  
POSTURING IN TODAY'S WINDUP, MOST LIKELY FROM AP  
AND THE PSOE. VARIOUS COMPETING RESOLUTIONS MAY BE  
PRESENTED, RANGING FROM ONE EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN THE  
GOVT (UCD) TO THOSE RECORDING CRITICISM (PERHAPS AP OR  
THE PSOE). WE UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THAT THE PSOE IS  
LOBBYING IN THE CORRIDORS FOR AN AGREEMENT TO TERMINATE  
THE DEBATE--AND THE SESSION--WITHOUT THE PRESENTATION  
OF ANY RESOLUTIONS, EITHER FOR OR AGAINST UCD.

13. PARTISAN ATTACKS ON SUAREZ' SPEECH NOTWITHSTANDING,  
IT WAS A RELATIVELY GOOD PRESENTATION, BOTH IN STYLE AND  
SUBSTANCE. IT DEMONSTRATED BOTH THAT SUAREZ' HEALTH IS  
GOOD (THERE HAD BEEN SPECULATION OF ILLNESS) AND THAT HE  
IS PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF HANDLING HIMSELF ABLY IN A  
PARLIAMENTARY CONTEXT. BUT AS RESPECTED YOUNG JOURNALIST  
PEDRO RAMIREZ ("ABC," "OPINION") TOLD EMBOFF TODAY,  
WHAT THE SPEECH LACKED, PARTICULARLY IN THE SEGMENT CONCERNING  
THE PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE, WAS MORE OF AN INSPIRATIONAL  
ELEMENT WHICH COULD HELP THE MAN IN THE STREET  
OVERCOME SOME OF HIS PESSIMISM ABOUT THE GENERAL COURSE  
OF EVENTS. RAMIREZ SAID HE HAD BEEN WITH FINANCE  
MINISTER FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ THIS MORNING, AND FERNANDEZ  
ORDONEZ HAD VOICED PRECISELY THAT CONCERN. AT ALL EVENTS  
THE MESSAGE CONVEYED BY SUAREZ WAS PERFECTLY CLEAR:  
LET'S GET ON WITH THE CONSTITUTION, BECAUSE EVERYTHING  
ELSE DEPENDS ON IT, AND WILL HAVE TO COME AFTERWARD.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PINT, SP, (SUAREZ GONZALEZ, ADOLFO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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